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2431st MEETING: 9 MAY 1983

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of ***Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council***. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2431st MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 9 May 1983, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. UMBA di LUTETE (Zaire).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2431)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the representative of Nicaragua on the Security Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746).

The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

Statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from French*): At the outset of our work, I should like on behalf of the Security Council to extend a warm welcome to the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, Mr. Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann, who is with us today in this chamber.

2. On behalf of the Council, I should also like to extend profound gratitude to Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick, the representative of the United States, who presided over the Council during the month of April. Mrs. Kirkpatrick, a teacher for many years, conducted the work of the Council with great ability and great diplomatic skill.

3. Personally speaking, I hope I can reply on the co-operation of all members so that I may discharge the delicate mission entrusted to me. President Mobutu, when accrediting me to the United Nations, requested me to make a positive contribution—in the first place, as a national of Zaire, then as an African and finally as representative of a non-aligned State—to the building of an international order based on greater justice and greater peace, and where a better life can be had.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the representative of Nicaragua on the Security Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746)

4. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform Council members that I have received letters from the representatives of Grenada, Honduras, Mexico and the Syrian Arab Republic, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ortez Colindres (Honduras) took a place at the Council table. Mr. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico) and Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

5. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from French*): The Security Council will now begin consideration of the main item on its agenda. It is meeting today in response to the request from Nicaragua submitted in a letter dated 5 May. Members of the Council have before them the following documents containing texts of letters addressed to the President of the Security Council: S/15742, with a letter dated 2 May from the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua; S/15745, with a letter dated 4 May from the representative of Honduras; and S/15749, with a letter dated 6 May from the representative of Costa Rica.

6. The first speaker is the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, Mr. Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann, on whom I now call.

7. Mr. D'ESCOTO BROCKMANN (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, allow me first of all to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your vast experience as a distinguished statesman of your country and, in particular, your experience as representative of Zaire and as Minister for Foreign Affairs guarantee that you will conduct the work with wisdom and fulfil the responsibilities that you now assume.

8. Once again we are obliged to come before this body in order to inform its members of the ever-increasing magnitude of the aggression against Nicaragua and of the grave and ever-increasing damage, suffering, death and destruction that that aggression is producing in my country.

9. In March 1982, a detailed analysis of the statements and actions of the United States Government, on the one hand, and the increasing number of military incursions across our northern border, on the other, led Nicaragua to the conclusion that the United States was promoting an escalation of its armed intervention against our country. On that occasion, Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra appeared before the Council [*2335th meeting*] to warn the nations of the world that the Reagan Administration was preparing a massive invasion of Nicaragua from Honduras. Then, as now, we came here seeking peace, not confrontation.

10. Today, at a time when my country is the victim of an invasion which began in late 1982 and involves thousands of soldiers, mainly former members of the genocidal Somozist National Guard, an invasion which has caused the death of more than 500 Nicaraguan compatriots in the first few months of this year, an invasion which, as long as it continues to be directed, financed and armed by the Reagan Administration, will continue to kill, spreading terror and anguish among our people and inflicting ever greater material damage on our impoverished and destroyed country. At a time such as this and in these circumstances we come to say that we want peace, that we need peace, that our people and our Government demand peace and the cessation of the unjustifiable and criminal aggression of which we are victims.

11. We have come here today, as in March 1982 and March 1983, to appeal for respect for the sacred principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign States. We are here to insist on the need and obligation to initiate a dialogue for the purpose of airing differences between countries and Governments and, if the possibilities of obtaining satisfaction by means of direct dialogue should appear to be exhausted, to resort to the Council; but in no case should States Members of the Organization, however large, rich or powerful, be allowed to resort to the use of force as a means of imposing their will. Every country, no matter how small, has the same right to be respected.

12. When we first brought our case to the Council, on 2 April 1982 [*2347th meeting*], the Latin American members of the Council—Panama and Guyana—introduced a draft resolution [*S/14941*] reminding all States of their obligations under the Charter. Of the 15 member States of the Council, 12 voted in favour and two abstained. As you will recall, Sir, the United States vetoed the draft resolution. This action was, with full justification, deplored by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at the Ministerial Meeting of its Co-ordinating Bureau held at Havana from 31 May to 5 June 1982.

13. Only six weeks ago, when the threat materialized, we were compelled to appear once again before the Council [*2420th meeting*] to denounce the massive invasion of Nicaragua organized, financed, armed and directed by a great Power which arrogates to itself a right which belongs exclusively and solely to our people, that of judging whether the Sandinist people's revolution is responding to the will of the Nicaraguan people. The United States is using members of the criminal Somozist National Guard, whom President Reagan himself has described as freedom fighters, as their instrument for imposing once again their brand of democracy on Nicaragua.

14. We repeat that in the first few months of this year this policy of aggression against Nicaragua has already caused the death of more than 500 Nicaraguan compatriots. Our Government has recently calculated the material damage, the delays in development projects and the lost income caused by the invasion at 581.4 million cordobas. Of that amount, material damage amounts to 113.4 million cordobas and includes the destruction of machinery and equipment, plants, schools and health centres, as well as the destruction of 143 vehicles. There have been delays in projects and programmes amounting to 119.8 million cordobas. Production damage amounts to 244.2 million cordobas. Lost income is calculated at 104 million cordobas, constituting only a partial amount. The total is actually much larger because, obviously, the shifting of workers to defence tasks, the destruction of production resources and the costs of replacing equipment all imply new imports and the shrinking of exports.

15. To economic destruction we must add the military aggression we denounced in our previous appearance. We should point out that in April alone there were 12 naval acts of aggression, two of them carried out by United States frigates, the FF-1072 *Blakely* and the FF-6 *Julius Furer*. Last month there were also 17 armed incursions, including 13 attacks on border posts, culminating in the massive invasion from Honduran territory of some 1,200 Somozist guardsmen on 30 April, that is, three days after President Reagan's speech to the joint session of Congress.

16. These invading forces were driven back and fled to their sanctuary in Honduran territory, where they have regrouped and form part of more than 2,000 Somozist freedom fighters, as President Reagan has dubbed the criminals who are ready to launch another invasion. Furthermore there are at this very moment another 2,000 mercenaries ready and awaiting only the order to invade the area of Zelaya Norte, also from Honduran territory.

17. The declaration that the United States is waging a war against Nicaragua cannot be taken as a figure of speech, much less as provocative rhetoric. The war that the Reagan Administration is waging against Nicaragua is no less real for not having been officially declared, and it does not cease to be a Reagan Administration war because the combatants are not thus far regular troops of the United States Army. From the moment the United States Government organized armed aggression against our country, training, financing, arming and directing the "Somozist freedom fighters", this could not be considered as anything but a war by the United States against our nation.

18. The fact that the American super-Power is waging this war against tiny, tormented, impoverished Nicaragua has been widely reported by all the international information media, including those of the United States itself, and it has also been denounced by numerous United States legislators and is now admitted by the President himself. I shall not try to prove what is obvious to all of you. I shall only remind you of what the United States press itself has reported on the basis of statements by the leadership of the invading Nicaraguan Democratic Forces themselves concerning the unusual command structure of what they euphemistically call the "insurgency".

19. According to this information that command structure has as its "brain" a corps made up entirely of Americans, experts of the Central Intelligence Agency and representatives of the Southern Command of the United States Army based in the Panama Canal Zone. The responsibility of this general staff is to transmit orders to a second general staff made up principally of officers of the Honduran army which, in turn, passes on the orders to a third general staff composed of officers of the Somozist National Guard.

20. According to the same United States media—most recently *Time* magazine's issue of 4 April—the coordinator of the activities of these different general staffs is none other than John Negroponte, United States Ambassador to Honduras, sadly remembered for his role in the illegal, unjust and equally undeclared war of the United States against the peoples of Indo-China.

21. The 2 May edition of the weekly *U.S. News and World Report* publishes the thoughts of several American legislators regarding what the Reagan Administration is doing against Nicaragua. According to that magazine, Representative Berkley Bedell, Democrat of Iowa, declared:

> "I returned from my recent trip to Nicaragua with three strong beliefs. First, what we are doing is morally wrong. These counter-revolutionaries are led by the security guard of Somoza. They were guilty of atrocities during the Somoza régime. Now they are sweeping through the countryside of Nicaragua, kidnapping and murdering innocent civilians. . .
>
> "Secondly, what we're doing is pragmatically wrong. We're giving the Government of Nicaragua an excuse for some of its economic difficulties. . .
>
> "Finally, I think it is legally wrong. The President is violating the law of the land and is not abiding by the treaties to which the United States is a party."

22. The Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries, held at Managua from 10 to 14 January 1983, one of the sessions with the greatest high-level participation in the history of our Movement, denounced the United States policy towards Nicaragua in the following terms:

> "The Ministers denounced the threats and acts of aggression against Nicaragua, the financing of undercover actions, the use of United States territory and that of Nicaragua's neighbours for training counter-revolutionary forces and the violation of Nicaragua's airspace and territorial waters by United States planes and ships—all of which has resulted in terrorist actions, armed attacks, the blowing up of bridges and other acts of sabotage aimed at overthrowing the Revolutionary Government, taking a toll of more than 400 Nicaraguans killed, wounded and/or kidnapped since 1979"—this was, it must be recalled, stated in January of this year—"in addition to causing heavy material damage and losses to the infrastructure.
>
> "The Ministers specifically denounced the systematic attacks being carried out against Nicaragua from across its northern border by armed bands of former members of Somoza National Guard. They noted that these actions formed part of a deliberated plan to harass and destabilize Nicaragua, as was publicly admitted by a foreign Power." [*S/15628, annex, paras. 36 and 37.*]

23. Two months later, the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which met at New Delhi from 7 to 12 March, made an additional appeal for an end to all hostile acts against Nicaragua and urged the Governments of the United States and Honduras to adopt a constructive position for peace and dialogue.

24. The American people are aware of the war that the Reagan Administration is waging against Nicaragua and reject it. The 2 May edition of *Newsweek* quotes Representative Clarence Long, Democrat of Maryland, as saying: "It got a thousand letters in a one-month period. Only seven were supportive of the President's policies" on Central America.

25. A poll conducted by the prestigious *The Harris Survey*, published on 5 May, revealed that "despite President Reagan's unusual action in addressing a joint session of Congress . . . a sizable majority of Americans oppose the President's policies in Central America". The survey, conducted nationally between 29 April—that is, only two days after President Reagan's speech—and 1 May, showed that 64 per cent of the population opposes and only 31 per cent is in favour of the Administration's Central American policy. Louis Harris, who conducted the study, said this rating must be considered a "solid rejection" of a policy viewed as militaristic and with few prospects of success. Fearing a total loss of credibility in the eyes of its own people, the Reagan Administration has chosen to shield itself behind a supposed governmental practice of neither confirming nor denying the existence of covert actions against other States. None the less, in the face of persistent charges that the Reagan Administration is directing and financing the aggression against the legitimate Government of Nicaragua, they have had to make ever more explicit admissions of the undeniable reality. It is to this, obviously, that *The New York Times*

was referring in its editorial of 1 May on President Reagan's 27 April speech, when it stated that President Reagan "didn't deny the undeniable". However, all these implicit acknowledgements have now become mere historical footnotes, given the admission by President Reagan himself in his 4 May news conference of his Government's role in this dirty war. To use legal terminology, "confession requires no corroboration".

26. The confessions and statements by President Reagan in his 4 May news conference and his speech before Congress the week before would have sufficed to make us request this meeting of the Security Council, because, to us and to anyone with common sense, they constitute a genuine declaration of war by the Reagan Administration and a clear indication that they intend to continue violating the most basic norms of international law upon which relations between sovereign States must be based.

27. In any event, those statements only corroborate the suffering, destruction and death experienced by our invaded nation.

28. Let us reflect, colleagues of the Council, upon whether we are willing to accept President Reagan's giving the United States the right to proclaim as illegitimate those Governments which he does not like and proceed to overthrow them. This—which *The Washington Post* calls the "Reagan Doctrine"—is what constitutes the greatest threat and the greatest danger to international peace and security.

29. I do not wish to go on at length asking representatives to analyse the absurd claim by the Reagan Administration that it is not really trying to overthrow the Government of Nicaragua. A short time ago we were visited by United States Congressmen, and in the course of talks with the head of State at which I was present a member of the House Select Committee on Intelligence asked, "Why are you concerned at an invasion that involves some 7,500 armed men? Are you so weak, so fragile, that you think that is enough to overthrow you?" And, without our saying anything, he, on his own initiative said, "Why should you be concerned if the Honduran army were involved? Are you not able to defend yourselves?" I think the cynicism of such statements requires no further commentary on my part.

30. I said that I did not want to take up too much time in an analysis of the absurd claim by the Reagan Administration that it is really not breaking any law, because it is really not attempting to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government. Allow me simply to call the Council's attention to a statement made by Congressman Jim Leach, Republican from Iowa, which was published in the 2 May edition of *U.S. News and World Report*:

> "The Administration is now saying it's not our programme to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government, although it may be the goal of the particular groups we are assisting. To accept that sophistry is to accept the notion of a tooth fairy."

31. Central America, like many other parts of our troubled planet, is currently in a state of political turbulence as a result of the misery and the archaic political and social structures that deny our peoples the kind of life that they so justly demand. But we have not come here to speak of the problems of other countries. Nicaragua, with every right on its side, is asking the Council to consider solely and exclusively the grave problem and consequences flowing from the aggression it has endured.

32. With respect to the consequences, I wish also to warn the international community about the undeniable fact that, to the extent that the Government of the United States continues to use some States of the region and to affect the neutrality of others in order to attack Nicaragua, the danger of regionalizing the war increases.

33. Instead of stubbornly pursuing a policy towards Central America which the majority of Latin American and European Governments have judged to be wrong and based on false premises, the Reagan Administration would do well to support the efforts undertaken by the countries of the Contadora Group, efforts which continue to be the principal Latin American initiative in search of peace in Central America. Nicaragua is working, and will continue to work, to strengthen this initiative.

34. Our objective in bringing before the Council the case of the war which the Government of the United States is waging against Nicaragua—a State member of the Council—is, in the first place and in fulfilment of its primary responsibility, that it should adopt all necessary measures within the broad framework of its mandate to halt this aggression, which is cruel and unjustifiable from every point of view.

35. In his report on the work of the Organization[1] presented to the General Assembly at its thirty-seventh session, the Secretary-General told us:

> "The Security Council, the primary organ of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security, all too often finds itself unable to take decisive action to resolve international conflicts and its resolutions are increasingly defied or ignored by those that feel themselves strong enough to do so."

And he added:

> "It seems to me that our most urgent goal is to reconstruct the Charter concept of collective action for peace and security so as to render the United Nations more capable of carrying out its primary function."

The Secretary-General also referred to the lack of an effective system of collective security and noted that without such a system the small and weak will have no defence or secure refuge.

36. As a member of the Council, Nicaragua has pondered very seriously the continuing relevance of the Secretary-General's words.

37. Confirming positions expressed on earlier occasions, my Government, in a letter dated 4 April 1983 from its Deputy Minister for External Relations to the President of the Security Council [*S/15681*], stated that it was prepared to agree that the Council should give a mandate to the Secretary-General to contribute to the establishment of a dialogue between Nicaragua and Honduras and between Nicaragua and the United States, in co-ordination with the countries sponsoring the Contadora initiative. In that same document, my Government suggested that that dialogue should take place at the United Nations itself.

38. I think we must express our gratitude to the Secretary-General for his availability and his well-known interest in the search for mechanisms leading to peaceful solutions, for his offer of good offices, and for his sincere desire to co-operate in attaining the peace which our peoples rightfully demand.

39. The Council must recognize that any solution to the situation facing my country today must have as its logical and fundamental prerequisites: the unconditional withdrawal of the genocidal forces sent into our country by the United States; an end to the border attacks from Honduran territory which the United States directs and finances; the permanent withdrawal of United States warships from our territorial waters; a halt to the flights of spy-planes over our nation; and an end to the participation of the United States intelligence community in the financing, organizing and directing of overt or covert forces or plans against Nicaragua.

40. We should like from this forum to address the great Power that is attacking us today, as it has done so many times in our history, and that is trying to limit our right to self-determination. We believe that the United States should direct its great influence towards attaining peace, not towards making war against countries like Nicaragua, which are devoted solely and exclusively to eradicating injustice and transforming obsolete political, social and economic structures that have oppressed our people for centuries and denied them the right to seek a dignified life. In other words, the United States must put an end to its aggressive policies against Nicaragua, a country that seeks only to promote peace and that, for that very reason, is working to carry out the far-reaching changes required by justice, in the conviction that without justice, peace is an unattainable illusion.

41. We wish to appeal to the United States to direct its ability to influence towards negotiated, political solutions instead of always choosing military measures.

42. Lastly, we call on the United States to understand that it is making an historical error by trying to explain the political upheaval in several Central American countries in terms of East-West tensions. We suggest that the United States think about what the statesmen of the Americas and Europe have been impressing on it with increasing urgency: that the Central American crisis stems basically from the historical postponement of measures capable of satisfying the demands of the region's peoples, which find themselves trapped deeper and deeper in the vicious cycle of poverty, exploitation, disease and hunger.

43. We reiterate once again our willingness to hold an immediate, unconditional dialogue with the United States Government, at an appropriate level, in order to find genuine solutions to the critical situation caused by the United States aggression against our country.

44. We feel that we have been sufficiently clear as to our objectives in requesting a meeting of the Council. We have come in search of peace before those with the highest responsibility on Earth for safeguarding international peace and security. We have not come looking for condemnation; rather, we have come in search of peace. We have come in the hope that all the Members of the Organization, whatever their size or strength, will take account of the inescapable obligation to respect the basic principles of the Charter.

45. We have not come here to engage in recriminations or to seek compensation for damage. We do not know how one could bring back to life all our Nicaraguan brothers and sisters who have fallen victim to the murderous bullets of the Somozists, who are spreading terror in our homeland and who at this very moment are killing our heroic border guards, peasants, students, technicians and doctors—Nicaraguans and foreigners alike—as well as members of our glorious Sandinist People's Army, the reservists and militiamen.

46. We have come before the Council to respond to aggression and death with an invitation to frank and constructive dialogue. We abhor war; we cherish peace. What is the response of my Security Council colleagues?

47. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Honduras, on whom I now call.

48. Mr. ORTEZ COLINDRES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Sir, it is extremely gratifying that a statesman of your calibre has assumed the presidency of the Security Council. Your country, Zaire, maintains equidistant and objective positions, which, we hope and trust, will be reflected in your actions. In the past three months the meetings of the Council with regard to the matter of Nicaragua have been guided by brilliant diplomats—Mr. Thomson of the United Kingdom, Mrs. Kirkpatrick of the United States and now Mr. Umba di Lutete, and with all three Honduras has felt secure in the knowledge that the Council is acting with international probity.

49. The Government of Honduras, which feels that it has been referred to in the words of the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, the Reverend Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann, wishes to take this opportunity to make the following statement.

50. Once again Nicaragua has asked for the convening of the Security Council as a matter of great urgency for the purpose of reviewing the situation prevailing in Central America with regard to what it has called a new stage of the invasion of its country by forces from Honduras; and once again Nicaragua has given this highest body of the United Nations distorted and tendentious information which, if not correctly analysed, might lead this important debate into grave legal and political errors and jeopardize the delicate task of the Council, whose primary responsibility is the maintenance of international peace and security.

51. In making this statement through me, the Government of Honduras wishes first to express its gratitude to the Council for having made it possible, in an act of international fairness, for us to ascertain the scope and details of the situation. This convening of the Council is extremely important not only for Honduras or Nicaragua but for Central America as a whole and the entire American continent. It will certainly also have implications for other countries of the world in the matter of international relations, especially if one takes into account the seriousness of the accusations and the mistaken approach on which they are based.

52. We do not believe that the members of this highest body of the United Nations could be so underestimated as to be considered naïve to the point that they will not look into all the information provided so as to distinguish, among all the rubbish, what is true and what is false and get down to the very crux of the problem of what is now taking place in Central America.

53. In 1979, after a long dictatorship, the people of Nicaragua, with the direct support of some fraternal countries of Latin America and with the moral support of most of the international community, in a long bloody struggle managed to overthrow General Anastasio Somoza Debayle. Peoples usually band together against injustice; that is why Governments and forces of different systems arrived at the minimum common denominator: to allow the people of Nicaragua to establish a new system of institutional life.

54. It was precisely on 17 July 1979 that the Sandinist National Liberation Front, assuming power in the Republic, made to the Organization of American States (OAS) a solemn pledge to carry out a plan to guarantee peace in Nicaragua on the basis of the resolution of the Seventeenth Consultative Meeting of 23 June 1979—which remains in force—which on that occasion appealed for hemispheric solidarity in order to uphold the right of the Nicaraguan people to self-determination.

55. At that time the competent organ for Nicaragua, considered as the useful forum and instrument for its political consolidation internally and internationally, was the OAS. Before that body they pledged themselves, among other things, first, to establish full respect for human rights in Nicaragua in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the American Convention on Human Rights, "Pact of San José, Costa Rica", of the OAS; secondly, to set up a Government in Nicaragua following a peaceful and orderly transition; thirdly, to promote civil justice in Nicaragua and to judge those accused of crimes against the people of Nicaragua in accordance with ordinary law and without a spirit of vengeance or indiscriminate reprisals; fourthly, to guarantee that the collaborators of the former régime could leave, with all the necessary guarantees, under the supervision of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the International Red Cross; and, fifthly, to implement a plan for holding the first free elections in Nicaragua in this century so as to allow Nicaraguans to elect their representatives to municipal councils and a constituent assembly and, later, also elect the highest authorities of the country.

56. That aforementioned pledge, which was transmitted to the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States members of the OAS, has today become mere words—words—mere words.

57. But that is not enough for those who count up figures in computers: those promises were made four years ago. None the less, the fraternal people of Nicaragua, who are today suffering a totalitarian Government maintained by force and in a state of political and social decomposition, have been counting not only the years but the months, weeks, and days; they have been marking on the fingers of their hands, just as peasants in Central America count, the dates on which they hope to see those promises fulfilled and that much-promised national salvation become a reality.

58. To the Government of Nicaragua the OAS is no longer the proper continental body to deal with differences between fraternal nations; it prefers other forums—extracontinental forums, where there is not the same degree of solidarity—for the airing of its disputes. Is it out of some fear of the commitment it has made to the American continent that it takes this attitude?

59. Nicaragua is now avoiding regional discussions of solutions in Central America, discussions which it had been carrying on since 1821, when the five Central American countries achieved independence from the Spanish Crown. Today the Sandinist Government, instead of paying tribute to Rubén Darío and Francisco Morazán, is paying tribute to Marx and Lenin and—as it has a right to do—is choosing a new system of values in the conduct of its public affairs. And it is doing so behind the backs of its people, preventing them from expressing their will at the polls, as had been promised, so that they might choose the system of government under which they wish to live. Is this not because it knows that the people would never freely choose to turn their backs on democracy?

60. Once again Nicaragua—in the calm words of its Minister—has, from its own standpoint, levelled a series of accusations against my country which, in our opinion, reflect a deliberately two-fold approach—a very different approach—to reality in considering the responsibilities of our respective Governments.

61. For instance, when a few months ago we conducted defensive military training exercises in our territorial waters together with the United States, we were accused of committing acts of aggression against Nicaragua, although that country knows perfectly well that for several decades we had been routinely conducting such operations, long before the Sandinist Government took power. It is appropriate to be very clear about the fact that Nicaragua was invited well before the event to send observers to witness those exercises. This is altogether normal and proper when one acts in international good faith.

62. On the contrary, the Sandinist Government finds it totally normal to have in its territory more than 6,000 foreign experts from Cuba, East Germany, Libya, the Soviet Union and other countries of the same bloc who, in the guise of doctors, teachers, agricultural and industrial experts whose "beneficent actions" are well known in countries such as Ethiopia and Angola, are engaged in other kinds of training and reinforcing.

63. Similarly, Nicaragua considers it an act of aggression or an intimidation of its interests that Honduras should welcome a head of State of a friendly nation, that is, President Reagan of the United States. On the other hand, Honduras, maintaining respect for international traditions, objectively avoids making such accusations when Nicaragua is visited by heads of State and high-level officials such as the Prime Minister of Cuba, Fidel Castro. There we see a very different scale of values.

64. In this meeting urgently requested by Nicaragua, my Government is accused of an alleged new stage of invasion on the part of Somozist troops from Honduras. This is a new fallacy which should come as no surprise to the members of the Council or to those who are aware of the reality in Nicaragua. At the present time in that fraternal country fighting is going on along the northern border with Honduras, on the southern border with Costa Rica, and in the central part of Nicaraguan territory, more than 150 kilometres from our border. Those who are fighting—we repeat—are Nicaraguans on Nicaraguan territory trying to obtain justice, through a national insurgency, against a Government, the Sandinist Government, that promised them free elections, a pluralist government, a mixed economy and freedom of religion and conscience, and who do not accept the type of government that is being supported behind the backs of the people.

65. That people of Nicaragua, among whom I have been many times and among whom I have family, have demonstrated their iron-clad resolve to take a new path in history. The members of the Council may be sure that they will never turn their backs on democracy if they are allowed freely to decide their own destiny—democracy—a system deeply rooted in the heart of American traditions that was defended by our forefathers such as Bolívar, José Cecilio del Valle, and Father Hidalgo, to mention only three of our heroes on the American continent.

66. General Somoza labeled as communists anyone who was against his system of government, and today the Sandinist Government is calling anyone who struggles for freedom in Nicaragua a Somozist. Alfonso Robelo, Violeta de Chamorro and Arturo Cruz—members of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction—are Somozists, as is Commander Zero, former Deputy Minister of Defense of the Sandinist Government and ex-commander of the People's Militia of Nicaragua. The truth is always brilliant and cannot be hidden with one's hand. All of these outstanding persons are basically dissidents struggling against the goals of the present Nicaraguan régime.

67. Nicaragua has made accusations in which it has attempted to implicate our country by clamoring about the northern border; our armed forces have been accused, on the international wire services and in communiqués of all types, of deploying troops on the border with Nicaragua and of conducting military mobilization in different border areas, as though our army were participating in aggression against Nicaragua. Honduras has been living up to the promise it made to the Council when Sir John Thomson was Council President. At that time, upon specific instructions, we gave categorical assurances that any movement of my country's troops would not be across the border to commit aggression; rather, such a mobilization would be aimed solely and exclusively at protecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Honduras—a categorical imperative established in the Constitution of our Republic.

68. Honduras wishes to point out to the Council that Nicaragua has not presented any clear evidence to prove the allegations—made on radio, television and in the Council—of participation of the Honduran army in the acts of aggression attributed to it. We would point out that we have responded to all those allegations specifically from time to time, and notification has been sent to the competent international bodies—the OAS and the United Nations. At the same time, it must be noted that our country has a voluminous list of violations of our own sovereignty and territorial integrity by Nicaragua. These problems could be resolved once and for all if the proposal made publicly by our country last November were accepted. That proposal called for international supervision and monitoring, not only of the border but also of strategic areas, such as ports, airports, military zones and training schools, making it possible to see exactly who is promoting this climate, who is logistically and materially sponsoring and supporting subversion in Central American territory. I would ask the representative of Nicaragua why his Government does not accept the international observation and supervision proposed repeatedly by Honduras in all the afore-mentioned areas.

69. Let us, meanwhile, look at the other side of the coin. Not everything is sweetness and light in this world of upheaval. Nicaragua, with its dual policy, is presenting two positions which must be separated, disentangled, and examined, because the world is complex. It is not in an air-conditioned room such as this that the destiny of the world can be decided or that the lives being taken at this moment can be saved. While we find ourselves here,

listening to elegant phrases in six languages, the world is faced with 41 countries in a state of upheaval and there are people dying in all parts of the world, many of them struggling for democracy and to obtain an authentic Government which expresses the aspirations of the people.

70. We are going to present evidence of that quiet and modest policy, presented in the voice of a priest, a friend of mine, a man of deep academic learning and enormous speaking ability. But it is also possible, equally quietly, to see things from a different perspective.

71. At present Nicaragua has the following forces. I think it would be well to make a comparison. When Nicaragua was saying that some members of the United States Congress had gone to Nicaragua and asked: "Are you able to defend yourselves against Honduras?" I thought he was going to say, "Can you defend yourselves against the United States?"or against—let us say—Afghanistan, or another Power. But no—it was a question of their "defending themselves against Honduras". Nicaragua has a Sandinist People's Army of 25,000 well-trained regular troops, a people's militia of 40,000 troops 40,000 people in active reserves, a Sandinist air force of 2,000 persons, a Sandinist navy of 2,000 persons, a Ministry of the Interior comprising 10,000 persons. These figures contrast with Honduran military power, which numbers only 17,000 men in its armed forces, including the police forces of the country.

72. The conservatively derived figures for Nicaragua's military growth I have cited force the conclusion that Nicaragua today has power superior to the combined power of the forces of Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador. And that is not all. With that power, Nicaragua has publicly stated that its objective is to have 200,000 people under arms—in other words, 10 per cent of the country's total population.

73. If we break down the list of military equipment, so as not to speak only of the two American ships going through territorial waters, Nicaragua has four battalions of long-range heavy artillery of Soviet manufacture equipped with 152-mm guns and multiple 122-mm UM-21 guns. Nicaragua also has two battalions of T55-type heavy tanks and one battalion of light-weight tanks, two battalions of anti-aircraft artillery with multiple guns, two battalions of UTR60 armoured vehicles for troop transport and 850 troop transport trucks of East German manufacture, and in addition it currently has four airstrips able to receive high-technology aircraft and is preparing to improve them, equipping them to be able to handle MiG-type aircraft, while Honduras, for its part, has nothing that can compare to this list.

74. Our armed forces comprise only one battalion of light-weight tanks and some outdated transport equipment, which renders impossible any parity of forces. All of Nicaragua's armament is reinforced by specialized advisers, who also train the subversive movements operating in the region. This is another principle of duality: the inundation of El Salvador with arms and the attempt to block arms for Nicaragua. Honduras has never denied that it has 50 American instructors under the provisions of treaties similar to those signed by almost all of the countries of Latin America, which in no way compares with the plethora of Cuba army equipment existing in Nicaragua.

75. As regards troop mobilization, since we are talking about peace, Nicaragua is the one that recently had such a mobilization. We would specifically point to the mobilization effected in Chinandega involving 3,000 troops, including tanks and artillery, to strengthen its contingents in that sector. Nicaragua has quartered troops in the areas bordering on my country—which requires vigilance on our part—made up of the following military forces: a great number of battalions in the areas bordering Choluteca, El Paraíso, the Mosquitia region and the department of Gracias a Dios.

76. So that the Council can have a clear idea of the accusations and can maintain an open mind and heart in regard to the problem, we should consider the entire context of the problem: what is the reason for this troop deployment? Is it designed to prevent an alleged incursion from Honduran territory by those "1500 Somozists"?

77. It is worth while drawing the Council's attention to the fact that Honduras' budget for its armed forces and defence is $47 million, a figure which in the past three years has increased by barely five per cent.

78. On the other side of the coin, Nicaragua devotes about $130 million to its war effort. We have information that it receives a larger amount in terms of equipment and weapons from countries that share its Marxist ideas. No one can deny that a few days ago Brazil confiscated 100 tons of weapons and explosives that were being transported in four Libyan planes that landed in its territory and that Nicaragua itself acknowledged here in this Secretariat that they were intended for it, nor that Cuban boats are unloading large quantities of war material in the rivers at Rama and at Bluff on the Atlantic coast, nor that Costa Rica has announced the detention of a boat carrying weapons and dynamite. Recently Colombia, one of the countries of the Contadora Group, had to refuse to allow other planes carrying arms to Nicaragua to cross its territory.

79. All this clearly indicates who is intent on continuing a wanton arms race which constitutes a danger not only for my country but for the whole Central American region. Members of the Council will see whether or not it becomes a danger to the American continent. To this I should like to add that my delegation has just received information that four other DC-10 aircraft are leaving Libya in another attempt to flood our region with a huge quantity of war material. We know the routes; permission has been requested.

80. However, Nicaragua has systematically refused to discuss the Honduran proposal to achieve general dis-

armament in the region through serious and responsible multilateral agreements for establishing a balance of forces of an essentially defensive and limited character and to ensure the national integrity and the defence of the respective territories. My country must formally denounce before the Council the danger to peace in Central America represented by the imbalance in weaponry created by Nicaragua, which, with a disproportionate increase in its military forces, can only be pursuing expansionist goals in the region. We should like to warn you of the risky nature of this pre-war situation, having regard, moreover, to the public statements made by the Co-ordinator of the Sandinist revolutionary junta, Commander Daniel Ortega Saavedra, to the effect that he would be prepared to consider the deployment of atomic missiles by the Soviet Union, should that Power request his Government's permission. That statement clearly constitutes a grave threat to the peace of the continent and in its turn violates all agreements of the inter-American system on that subject, especially the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco), whose principal architect, the Government of Mexico—I am informed that on 24 October the Government of Nicaragua signed the Treaty of Tlatelolco—is another Member State that has made great efforts to promote the peace that is now about to fall to pieces.

81. The Government of Nicaragua—the Sandinist Government—is not just arming itself out of all proportion or just making aggressive statements; it has also carried out a clearly interventionist policy in neighbouring States by promoting the traffic in weapons. I have seen them; I have witnessed them; they exist. If members would like to see the masses of photographs we can circulate them, but we do not wish to involve the Secretary-General in more expense. We are trying to avoid superfluous expenditure. Interventionism is a risky business. As well as the traffic in weapons, terrorism and subversive movements exist in the region, and this is conducive not to peace, which is what we are appealing for now, but to the maintenance of a climate of tension and violence in Central America. In this respect Honduras must declare its readiness to exercise its sovereign and legitimate right to defend its democratic system of life, which derives from free elections and is supported by our authorities' respect for public freedoms and for the free expression of our people, where there is free expression of thought and respect for freedom of religious beliefs and for free association.

82. The international community must understand, analyse and realize that there are different facets to every situation. Let us not be swayed by smooth talk, because we diplomats are skilled at that sort of thing. We put on a show; we are skilled in the art of persuasion. They have even changed their spokesmen because their words sound sweeter today. None the less, we continue to assert that the concerns and problems afflicting the Government of Nicaragua are basically internal problems. Those problems that are being fought over today arise from the growing opposition of the Nicaraguan people due to unfulfilled promises that have led to an armed struggle within its own territory. All the armed clashes that Nicaragua denounces have taken place within Nicaraguan territory—here are all the references—and are waged by Nicaraguan citizens grouped together in political sectors opposed to that régime. These denunciations are nothing but attempts to disregard the existence of this internal problem. The problem exists and cannot be covered up—it exists. Why in my country, a democracy, do the forces not rise up in spite of the promises that they have made that they are going to back guerrilla movements? Because they do not have the support of the people. Such denunciations are nothing but a refusal to recognize reality, a premeditated attempt to internationalize a conflict. When I came to New York they had just destroyed nine bridges, including the most important bridge on the Pan-American Highway through El Salvador.

83. Honduras feels compelled to insist that the problem of the communicating vessels in Central America can only be solved in a civilized way—and we are in agreement on this—through regional dialogue. In its view this must be guided by a genuine Central American peace-loving spirit at the level most suitable for beginning that dialogue. For us such a dialogue is a dialogue among the five foreign ministries of the Central American countries. That is where we can analyse, debate and solve all the problems, not by looking at the interests of just one country, but by seeing the problem as pertaining to the whole region and, of course, by considering all interests within a global context. In such a dialogue aspects may arise that need bilateral solutions. Let us be clear; let us discuss them; let them complement this serious and responsible understanding in Central America. We are not running away from bilateral dialogue.

84. In line with this thinking, our Foreign Minister, Mr. Edgardo Paz Barnica, made a dramatic appeal for peace to the OAS, calling on it to recommend to Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua that, with the help of other Latin American countries, their Foreign Ministers meet in order rapidly to seek such an agreement.

85. It should be noted that the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States has before it a draft resolution put forward by Honduras, in the sense already indicated, and Colombia, on its own behalf and on behalf of Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, countries that constitute what is called the Contadora Group, requested suspension of the discussion of the item in order to allow the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group countries to initiate their own moves with the five Central American countries in order to identify possibilities for resolving the serious crisis in the area. The delegation of Honduras then accepted the fraternal initiative of the Contadora Group and Nicaragua did so too, thus committing themselves before that regional body not to take steps in the United Nations so that the negotiations of those friendly Contadora countries could proceed.

86. The negotiations have progressed with admirable dedication to the cause of peace. They are continuing without any obstacle of any sort being set up by my

Government, which has informed the regional organization of its intention to allow sufficient time under our gentlemen's agreement, which was unanimously supported by the Permanent Council. Honduras has not taken any further action concerning its proposal, which is under discussion. That gentlemen's agreement is, however, being violated here today by Nicaragua.

87. In their preliminary conclusions the Ministers of the Contadora Group identified the serious problems affecting the Central American region. Those Ministers are more aware than any of us of the situation because they have been travelling recently through the region and talking with leaders of the armed forces, with Presidents of the Republics and with everyone who is really well informed. They are getting their information first hand, not from the press or from campaigns of distortion. The Contadora Group has identified as Central American problems the following: the arms race, arms control and reduction, the traffic in weapons, the presence of military advisers and other forms of military assistance from outside, actions aimed at destabilizing the internal order of States, verbal threats and aggression, military incidents and border tensions and, as a priority concern, the violation of human rights and individual and social guarantees, as well as serious problems of an economic and social nature that underlie the crisis that affects the region.

88. We cannot deny that in some places our peoples—our Indians—have a greater capacity for corruption and fewer prospects than they did when Christopher Columbus set foot on our shores, because instead of pulque they now drink rum, and some of them drink whiskey.

89. I have already explained the position of Honduras on the various topics under discussion, but in order that the Council may see things in their proper context, I should like to clarify some basic aspects. We wish to state once again, in line with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the OAS, that my country would be prepared, together with the other Central American countries, to conclude serious and responsible agreements guaranteeing that none of those countries will take any action to destabilize the internal order of other States. Honduras also declares its readiness to co-operate in finding a solution to the grave economic problems, which we cannot ignore, and the social problems that are also part of the crisis affecting our region.

90. It must be pointed out that in the sensitive area of human rights—for sometimes those of us who do not suffer forget about those people who are at this very moment suffering in this regard—Nicaragua has been increasing its repressive actions against its ethnic minorities, the Miskito, Sumo and Rama tribes, uprooting them from their regions and creating a mass exodus into Honduras, thus aggravating the food problem at a time when my country has a very high unemployment rate, and we continue to accept hordes of peoples seeking humanitarian refuge.

91. There are already more than 30,000 Nicaraguans in my country fleeing from persecution and extermination. We must therefore ask: Are there any Honduran citizens who have fled from Honduras into Nicaragua in search of justice? The answer is a categorical "No". It is Nicaraguans of all ages and both sexes who, day after day, cross our border in their thousands in order to save their lives and those of their loved ones, joining that vast and sorry multitude of those who have suffered for their religious beliefs, such as the Moravians, the Mormons, the Jehovah's Witnesses and others. Nor can we forget the thousands of political prisoners incarcerated in secret prisons to conceal them from the protective supervision of the humanitarian institutions entrusted with protecting the individual and political rights of the human being. These are structures that the Sandinist Government has vowed to destroy.

92. Following this analysis, which I consider to be of international importance, it is fitting to ask, with all due respect: What is Nicaragua really seeking by calling for this urgent meeting, in violation of the gentlemen's agreement we reached in the OAS? My delegation can find no justification for this—nothing but words, words and more words—unless the purpose is to cast a smokescreen around the actions of its own Government aimed at destabilizing Central America. While we are here, I repeat, in this air-conditioned environment, vast quantities of weapons and explosives are being moved into the region.

93. In the face of the grave problem created in the region by those actions, my country believes that we must take urgent action and that such action must be aimed first of all at not undermining the effort being made by the Governments of the Contadora Group with the consent of the OAS Permanent Council. Why should we circumvent them, when a short while ago we were telling them at the presidential level that they could count upon our support in opening up a dialogue? And while they are flying in one direction, we are flying in another; some fly high and others fly low. In the face of this grave problem my delegation would, with all due respect, suggest to the Council that, following the guidelines of the charter of the regional organization, the OAS, and the Charter of this world Organization, the United Nations, the subject should, in the first instance, be further pursued in the OAS if the peace-making efforts of the Contadora Group should prove fruitless. At the present time this Group has the unanimous backing of the OAS Permanent Council.

94. Let us await the results, and, with the understanding that civilized dialogue is the best method for solving problems between nations, this Council should recommend that Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica should begin, at the foreign ministers level and with the presence and collaboration of other Latin American countries concerned about this situation, the keenly desired dialogue that will cover regional problems as a whole and lead to serious, responsible agreements that can provide a solution to the grave problems of Central America.

95. This is not a problem between Nicaragua and Honduras, and let us not be mistaken; it is a regional problem in which other countries outside the region are involved. It is a serious problem. You have allies, you have defence pacts, and you are perfectly well aware that the pieces on the chessboard are being moved from both sides. It is not a problem between two pygmies, but one of giants. I should like to be on another planet right now so that I could look down and see what is really happening, for it is not in a microscopic context that we will solve the problems between Nicaragua and Honduras. There are larger interests at stake, and you are intelligent, mature people who will not be misled by details.

96. Logically, we do not exclude the possibility that within that regional dialogue the bilateral dialogue suggested by Nicaragua may be opened and that we can proceed to discuss all the solutions to those aspects of Central America's problems, without restrictions, but also without limiting ourselves to two countries. This is not a bilateral problem between Honduras and Nicaragua. The weapons that are intended to overthrow the Government of El Salvador are moving through my territory. I do not want continually to cite newspapers, but I am going to quote from *The New York Times* of yesterday, in which there was an indication that weapons have been moving through my country towards El Salvador by eight routes, and that at the same time they are being routed around it through the Strait of Jiquilisco or the Gulf of Fonseca. We believe that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, and you know that in the United States there are both geese and ganders in this struggle.

97. In the life of nations it is not unusual for controversies to arise, but we also know that solutions to all of them can be found through good faith and the creation of conditions in which justice and respect for the obligations deriving from honourable pacts between serious and responsible countries, such as Honduras, are maintained.

98. I know that my statement was longer than 30 minutes, because, owing to the Council's rules, I may not have another opportunity to speak today.

99. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I have received a request from the representative of the United States of America to speak in exercise of the right of reply. Although it is late, I call on her.

100. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): I, too, should like to begin my remarks by congratulating you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Council and to express our confidence in your sense of fairness and skill in conducting its affairs.

101. It is an extraordinary experience to hear the representative of Nicaragua's harsh dictatorship invoke the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs, the Charter of the United Nations and other international law, and accuse the United States of invasion. It is an extraordinary experience to hear the representative of Nicaragua's harsh dictatorship speak of the rule of law, talk about American public-opinion polls, quote American media and even American elected officials. I am especially struck by the invocation of the principle of non-intervention by Nicaragua's dictators. Since they have come to power they have been busy fomenting war in the region, destroying the peace and the possibility of progress in El Salvador, Honduras and other neighbouring States, and forcing militarization on the region.

102. The United States does not invade small countries on its borders. We do not have 100,000 occupation troops in any country in the world—least of all on our borders. Our neighbours need have no such concerns.

103. However, since the representative of Nicaragua has relied so heavily on American media this morning in his presentation to the Council, I thought that the record ought to be set a bit straight and that I might have recourse as well to some American media concerning events in Central America—for example, the respect which the Government of Nicaragua shows regularly for the principle of non-intervention in the affairs of its neighbours.

104. The 9 May issue of *Time* magazine, for example, has a very interesting article—which I recommend to members of the Council—entitled "How the Salvadoran rebels order outside help for their revolution". It begins as follows: "the building of a Nicaraguan arms link to El Salvador began almost as soon as the victorious revolutionaries took power in the Nicaraguan capital of Managua in July 1979." It has maps with arrows which describe routes. They are not quite as good as our Government's maps but they are not bad; they are good enough that members of the Council can get a general impression of the regular flow of arms from Nicaragua through Honduras into El Salvador.

105. The article describes various arms infiltration routes. It says, for example, that one "hugged the Honduran Pacific coast between Nicaragua and El Salvador, then angled into the remote areas of El Salvador where Marxist rebels hold almost undisputed sway. U.S. analysts estimate that 15 to 20 such land routes exist across Honduras." One wonders about Honduras' right to be free of infiltration by its neighbours.

106. The article continues:

> "Other military shipments come in by air and sea. Sandinista smugglers have been known to move supplies directly across the 20-mile-wide Gulf of Fonseca. When the going is safe, the Nicaraguans make nighttime forays from the Pacific gulf port of Potosí aboard small fishing boats, equipped with false bottoms, or 50-foot frame canoes. That practice has now been curtailed because of the patrols of U.S. electronic surveillance ships in the area and the greater vigilance of the Salvadoran and Honduran navies."

One can readily understand why neighbours with such practices would not want any electronic surveillance in their region.

107. The article continues:

> "At night, the Jiquilisco region is also known as a favorite destination of arms-laden helicopters [for Nicaragua] and light fixed-wing aircraft. . . . An important alternative air route for the smugglers [from Nicaragua] is the former British colony of Belize into Guatemala. After that, the rebels and their supplies filter south into Salvadoran rebel strongholds."

Apparently, the Government of Nicaragua has a bit of a problem respecting the right of the Government of Guatemala also to be free of infiltration across its borders.

108. The article is very detailed. It sums up its point about the extent and details of the supply route between Nicaragua and El Salvador with a line which it also uses as its title—"Like a Sears, Roebuck Catalogue". Rebels in El Salvador can order from Nicaragua whatever they need. One unit may say: "I need candles, boots, batteries, diarrhoea medicine, bullets and mortar rounds." If they do not get what they want, they complain. The fact that they complain shows that they have a pipeline that they think they can depend on.

109. Of course, the consequence of this gross violation of the principle of non-intervention in the life of neighbouring States by the Government of Nicaragua is the destruction of peace in the region, and it is very specially tragic for the Government and society of El Salvador, where the economy has been deliberately targeted and deliberately destroyed. I pointed out not long ago in a discussion of this same issue that some 34 bridges and 145 electrical transmission towers were destroyed in El Salvador last year, that some 18,000 Salvadorians had been put out of work by that destruction.

110. Two weeks ago the President of the United States of America spoke to the Congress and pointed out the following in his statement:

> "Tonight in El Salvador, because of the ruthless guerrilla attacks, much of the fertile land cannot be cultivated; less than half the rolling stock of the railways remains operational; bridges, water facilities, telephone and electric systems have been destroyed and damaged. In one 22-month period there were 5,000 disruptions of electrical power, and one region was without electricity for one-third of a year."

Those are the consequences for one of Nicaragua's neighbours of Nicaragua's respect for the principle of non-intervention.

111. The representative of the Government of Nicaragua has referred repeatedly to the debate now under way in the United States among Americans about what American policy should be with regard to the area. He is quite right of course—there is a debate. The debate is on the question of whether the United States should help the people of El Salvador and the people of Nicaragua to defeat the effort to impose upon them totalitarian dictatorships with the assistance and by means of arms toted to them by a ruthless, international terrorist. There is a debate in the United States about whether the United States should leave small countries powerless, small peoples helpless, without defence against conquest by violent minorities trained and armed by remote dictators.

112. Such a debate is under way in the United States. It is not completed. And we will continue that debate; we will continue it in our own way. We will continue it not by the method of lies, but by the method of democracy. The method of democracy relies on discussion. We will make our decision at the end of our debate, and we will make that decision by democratic means. We very much wish that the Government of Nicaragua would join us in such a democratic decision process. We very much wish that there could be a debate in Nicaragua about the public policies of that Government. We very much wish that the people of Nicaragua—its journalists, its political leaders—were free to make their arguments in public arenas, to discuss the questions before that people, to criticize their Government, to rise in legislative arenas and state their criticisms freely. We wish the people of Nicaragua had the opportunity to be polled by honest and objective public-opinion organizations. We wish the people of Nicaragua had the opportunity to settle their discussions and decisions and debates by voting.

113. We in the United States will live by the results of our democratic processes. We can wish nothing better for the people of Nicaragua than that they be given a comparable opportunity.

114. The relationship between the Government of Nicaragua and its people is, of course, at the heart of much of the discussion here. What is the nature of the problem of the representative of Nicaragua's new dictatorship? What is the nature of what he calls an American invasion? Needless to say, there is no American invasion in Nicaragua. It is a fact that there is fighting in Nicaragua. It is a fact that there is very widespread unhappiness—misery, indeed—in Nicaragua. It is a fact that the Government of Nicaragua has a problem. The nature of that problem is, of course, not international. The nature of that problem is national. Nicaragua's problem is with Nicaraguans. In Nicaragua today, Nicaraguans fight other Nicaraguans for the control of their country's destiny.

115. I thought, since the representative of Nicaragua had brought to the Council's attention so many items from the American press, I might impose on the Council a second item from *The Washington Post* of yesterday, which was referred to by the representative of Nicaragua. Pointing out the advantages of free discussion, by the way, you can find a lot of different kinds of evidence in our newspapers. The item that I should like to bring to the Council's attention is a column by one Jack Anderson, who is a well-known liberal columnist in the United States, not a reliable supporter of the Administration

that currently governs the country. The column is entitled "A Popular Force", and I should like to read from it briefly.

"While Congress debates the Reagan Administration's clandestine operations in Nicaragua, the American public is beset by conflicting information about exactly what is going on there.

". . .

"To get some reliable, firsthand answers to [some] crucial questions, I sent my associate, Jon Lee Anderson, to the troubled region. He has just returned from a week-long foray into northern Nicaragua with anti-Sandinista guerrillas. They belong to the Nicaraguan Democratic Forces (FDN), the major group of... insurgents.

"He traveled with a well-armed, 50-member guerrilla band led by a commander whose *nom de guerre* is El Gorrión—The Sparrow. Their base camp was deep in the rugged mountains of Nicaragua's Nueva Segovia province, near the Honduran border.

"It quickly became obvious that the guerrillas had the support of the populace. They were fed and protected by local peasants at every step. Traveling on foot, and only at night, to avoid detection by government troops, the guerrillas spent the days hiding out in 'safe houses', often within shouting distance of government-held towns. If the peasants had wanted to betray them, it would have been a simple matter to tip off the Sandinista militia to their hiding places.

"The peasants also provided The Sparrow with up-to-the-minute intelligence on the whereabouts, movement and strength of the Sandinista forces.

"The anti-Sandinista guerrillas' military prowess is not so clear-cut. My associate discovered this to his dismay when he accompanied The Sparrow's band on a planned pre-dawn ambush of government troop carriers along a country road.

". . . the guerrillas were themselves surprised by sniper fire... and were forced to pull out. The retreat was carried out skilfully, however, and two nights later the guerrillas avenged their defeat with an attack on the hilltop snipers' nests. The FDN commandos treated the snipers to a half-hour barrage of rockets, grenades and machine-gun fire, before returning satisfied to their base camp.

"Most of the FDN guerrillas were local peasants, not *Somocista* exiles. But there were also former National Guardsmen, and they tend to be in positions of command because of their military experience.

"Still, the core of the The Sparrow's group consisted of locally recruited peasants. In fact, on my associate's last day with the rebel band, he witnessed the arrival of 50 new recruits, all of them peasants from the neighbouring province of Madriz.

"One of the new recruits was a defecting Sandinista army instructor. There were other ex-Sandinistas in the guerrilla troop. One was Dunia, a star graduate of the Sandinistas' post-revolution literacy campaign.... Dunia did so well she was rewarded with a junket to Cuba. She is now the camp medic for the The Sparrow's band.

"The rebels and their noncombatant collaborators cited a variety of reasons for their disenchantment with the Sandinistas: enforced food rationing, expropriation of the farmers' markets, enforced organization of peasant co-ops, the Sandinistas' anti-religious policies and harassment of the Catholic Church.

"The Sandinistas themselves indirectly aided the guerrillas' recruitment of at least a dozen of the new arrivals. They said they had been under increasing pressure to join the militia. Forced to take sides, they chose the 'contras'.

"Still, it was not an easy choice for many. They expressed genuine anguish at being forced—one way or another—to fight against fellow Nicaraguans.

"'We don't want to fight our Nicaraguan brothers,' they said. The ones they're after are the Sandinista leaders and their Cuban, East German, Bulgarian and other foreign advisers."

That is not the end of the column: there are two paragraphs left, for anyone who is interested.

116. I should like very briefly to reiterate to the Council that the United States Government has repeatedly, throughout the brief history of the Sandinist dictatorship, sought to establish constructive relations with that Government and during the period of its destabilization of the area sought to work with others in the area to achieve regional peace.

117. In August 1981, on a special mission to Managua, Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders presented a five-point peace plan to the Sandinists to reduce regional tensions. Based on the termination of Nicaraguan support for guerrilla groups, the plan called for a United States pledge to enforce strictly laws governing exile activities in United States territory, reaffirmation of non-intervention and non-interference by all parties, limits on arms and military forces, resumption of United States economic assistance to Nicaragua, which had been very substantial, and a United States-Nicaraguan cultural exchange programme. The Sandinist Government made no substantive response.

118. In April 1982, United States Ambassador Anthony Quainton delivered an eight-point peace proposal to the Sandinists that called for an end to Nicaraguan support for guerrillas in neighbouring countries. It called for limits on arms and foreign military advisers, a joint pledge

of non-interference and non-intervention, arms-limit verification measures, resumption of United States economic assistance, implementation of cultural exchange programmes, and the reaffirmation of Sandinist commitments to pluralism, free elections and a mixed economy. The Sandinists made a non-substantive response that did not even address the United States plan, but presented only rhetorical counter-proposals.

119. In October 1982 eight regional democracies, including the United States, set forth the essential conditions for peace in Central America—again including verifiable limits on arms and foreign military advisers, national reconciliation through the democratic process, a halt to support for insurgent groups, mutual respect for pledges of non-intervention and respect for basic human rights. Countries asked Costa Rica to discuss these conditions with Nicaragua. That too came to naught.

120. In addition, the Sandinists have rejected other proposals put forth by their neighbours. As recently as April 1983, they refused to meet with Costa Rica, Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala in multilateral discussions supported by the Contadora Group—but the Council has already heard about that.

121. The Sandinists' insistence on bilateral rather than mutilateral talks underlines their desire to resolve their external problems while avoiding the issue of their export of revolution, war and misery to their neighbours.

122. The record speaks for itself. I should just like to close these remarks by reminding the members of the Council that, in his speech to a joint session of the United States Congress, President Reagan asserted:

> "To support our diplomatic goals in the region, I offer these assurances", and I should like to offer these assurances again to the Council on behalf of the Government of the United States.
>
> "The United States will support any agreement among Central American countries for the withdrawal, under fully verifiable and reciprocal conditions, of all foreign military and security advisers and troops.
>
> "We want to help opposition groups join the political process in all countries and compete by ballots instead of bullets.
>
> "We will support any verifiable, reciprocal agreement among Central American countries on the renunciation of support for insurgencies on neighbours' territory.
>
> "And, finally, we desire to help Central America end its costly arms race and will support any verifiable, reciprocal agreements on the non-importation of offensive weapons."

123. Finally, I should like to say to members of the Council that every nation in the United Nations, especially small nations, especially nations with powerful neighbours, should ponder carefully this case, should think well about what is once again being demanded of the Council by the Government of Nicaragua. The Government of Nicaragua has once again come to us, demanding of the United Nations international protection while it destabilizes its neighbours. It is claiming that a people repressed by foreign arms of a super-Power has no right to help against that repression. That is a principle which, I should suppose, every Member of the United Nations that is in fact committed to principles of national independence, self-determination and non-intervention would do well to think hard on.

124. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply, and I now call on him.

125. Mr. D'ESCOTO BROCKMANN (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I simply wish to recall something I have already said in my presentation. We have not come here to speak of the problems of other countries. As is its full right, Nicaragua has brought before the Council for consideration solely and exclusively the grave problem and the consequences of the aggression of which it is the victim.

126. With regard to the consequences, I wished also to alert the international community to the undeniable fact that, to the extent that the United States Government continues using some States of the region and impairing the neutrality of others to attack Nicaragua, the danger of regionalizing the war increases.

127. I wish to be quite frank and, hence, I cannot fail to say that, as a Central American, I share the shame which, I am sure, the sister people of Honduras feel at the sad words just spoken by the man who is supposed to represent them in this forum but who, in fact, only wished to represent the interests of those who attack us, the interests of those who increasingly commit the Government of Honduras to the Reagan Administration's dirty war against Nicaragua.

128. The representative of Honduras did not wish to respond to our appeal for peace. Following guidelines of "higher-ups", he opted to ignore the existence of something which even the Reagan Administration no longer dares to deny.

129. At no time in our statement did we attack Honduras. Nevertheless, we have now heard a long statement by the representative of Honduras in which all kinds of improprieties and lies were directed against Nicaragua and in which he dealt with matters within the sole and exclusive purview of Nicaragua. But since the representative of Honduras did not see fit to address the specific situation we have brought before the Council for consideration, that is, the aggression of the Reagan Administration against Nicaragua, we thought Mrs. Kirkpatrick might do so when she asked to speak. However, she

confined herself to doing what she has done on many previous occasions: she quoted from a recent article from *Time* magazine describing some alleged routes for a supposed traffic in arms being used by Nicaragua through Honduran territory in order to send arms to El Salvador. No proof whatever has been produced; there was simply a repetition of what we have already heard many times from the Reagan Administration.

130. But as was stated in the very comprehensive report given in yesterday's edition of *The Washington Post* under the title, "US-Backed Nicaraguan Rebel Army Swells to 7,000"*—which, in addition to the prominent place given to it on page one, was allotted much space in the inside pages and also included a chart—this army, organized, trained and financed by the United States Government, which in December 1981 amounted to 500 men, now numbers some 7,000 men, also led and financed by the United States.

131. The article explains how all of this was started by the Reagan Administration to stem an alleged arms traffic; how the representatives of the Central Intelligence Agency, who to some extent have had to report to the House Select Committee on Intelligence, have acknowledged that on no occasion have weapons been intercepted in this supposed weapons traffic; and how more and more they have had to accept that, in reality, the creation of a military force to detain a supposed arms traffic was nothing more than a pretext, because it is now clear that what is at issue is an attack against the Government of Nicaragua to impose once again on Nicaragua a Somozist brand of democracy.

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

132. As I said before, the article is very long and I will not read it all, but we are going to request that it be published as an official document of the Council so that all the members of the Council can duly reflect on its contents. The article says that in spite of there being an initial prohibition to use former Somozist guards among those troops being organized by the United States, it became necessary to use them because no one else wanted to fight; those are the exact words that you will be able to read in this article later. President Reagan actually describes them as "freedom fighters": the Somozist brand of freedom that he would like to impose on Nicaragua again, a Somozist democracy that we already know, that we and our entire people have repudiated and expelled definitively from our territory, in spite of the imperial will.

133. I consider it important that the Council, that all of us here, reflect and seriously consider the specific situation which Nicaragua has brought to you for your consideration, and that, pursuant to our responsibility to safeguard international peace and security, we take the necessary measures to achieve the immediate withdrawal of the invading troops from our territory and to put an end also to all acts of aggression against our territory from outside and to the financing, training, and directing of the mercenaries that the Government of the United States is using to attack our country.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.

NOTE

[1] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1* (A/37/1).

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SECURITY COUNCIL
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THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR

2432nd MEETING: 13 MAY 1983

NEW YORK

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2432nd MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 13 May 1983, at 4.30 p.m.

President: Mr. UMBA di LUTETE (Zaire).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2432/Rev.1)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the representative of Nicaragua on the Security Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746).

The meeting was called to order at 4.50 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the representative of Nicaragua on the Security Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746)

1. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decisions taken at the 2431st meeting of the Council, I invite the representative of Honduras to take a place at the Council table. I invite the representatives of Grenada, Mexico and the Syrian Arab Republic to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ortez Colindres (Honduras) took a place at the Council table. Mr. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico) and Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from French*): I wish to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Algeria, Cuba, Ethiopia, Guatemala, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mali and the Seychelles in which they ask to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Mr. Quiñones-Amézquita (Guatemala), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Traoré (Mali) and Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Members of the Council have before them document S/15753, containing the text of a letter dated 9 May 1983 from the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua to the President of the Security Council.

4. The first speaker is the representative of Mexico, whom I invite to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. MUÑOZ LEDO (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation offers its best wishes to you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Your vast experience and that of your country are a guarantee of commitment to the cause of peace in your work in this body.

6. For the second time in six weeks the Government of Nicaragua has been compelled to come to the Council to denounce the continuance of the escalation of violence in Central America, which threatens the sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country and endangers international peace and security.

7. I thank the Council for giving me this opportunity to reaffirm the grave concern of the Mexican Government at the situation prevailing in Central America, the recurring violation of international legality in that region and the dangerous trend towards disregard of the right of self-determination of peoples.

8. The declaration by the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua [*2431st meeting*] refers to facts that demonstrate the undeniable worsening of the crisis in Central America and an increasingly obvious trend towards foreign interference in the internal affairs of the States of the region.

9. In the face of this trend, which heightens the threat of internationalization of the Central American crisis, Mexico has redoubled its efforts in favour of dialogue and negotiation as methods for the peaceful settlement of regional disputes within the spirit and letter of the Charter of the United Nations. Together with the Govern-

ments of Colombia, Panama and Venezuela, and in the framework of the Contadora declaration of 9 January 1983,[1] we have stepped up our contacts and consultations aimed at the reduction of tension in the area and at the search for practical mechanisms acceptable to all parties which can lay the groundwork for the advent of peace.

10. Following the last discussion held in the Council in connection with the Nicaraguan complaint [*2420th-2427th meetings*], the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the four countries made joint visits to Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala, at the invitation of those Governments. In the course of these visits they were able to appreciate the desire of the parties to co-operate and to get their views and opinions concerning the conditions necessary for the restoration of peace.

11. In the light of those talks, they invited the Central American Foreign Ministers to a second stage of consultations in the Republic of Panama in April, in order to promote effective communication and achieve constructive dialogue among the Governments of those countries. That second stage made it possible to define the main issues in the dispute and to formulate an initial diagnosis of their nature. As a result of that meeting, our Governments reaffirmed their profound conviction that through formulas for peaceful settlement and a genuine spirit of negotiations it is possible, in a positive way, to deal with the disputes afflicting the countries of the area.

12. We have received testimony of open solidarity with our efforts from many Governments, and we feel that we have contributed to the strengthening of a peace-making spirit with regard to the question of Central America which has enlisted the overwhelming support of international public opinion.

13. In the joint declaration signed by the Foreign Minister of Mexico and the Secretary of State of the United States at the conclusion of the third meeting of the Binational Commission established by the two Governments, the two affirmed that, having exchanged views on the situation in the Central American region, "they agreed to promote processes of dialogue and negotiations with a view to avoiding armed conflict and to promote the establishment of peaceful conditions and economic development".

14. Other countries on the continent have offered their total support for our efforts. On the conclusion of an official visit to my country, the President of Brazil, together with the President of Mexico, signed a declaration in which the two expressed their deep concern at the "worsening of the situation in Central America and the increasing risk of military conflicts spreading throughout the area". The two Presidents

> "considered it urgent that effective negotiations should be conducted between the parties involved in the crisis and urged them to refrain from any actions that might further worsen the situation. Furthermore, they recognized that a permanent solution will only be possible without foreign interference."

They also agreed that

> "The Central American crisis derives from the economic and social structures that prevail in the region and, therefore, efforts to resolve it should be aimed at avoiding the tendency to describe it as a chapter in the East-West confrontation."

15. We are convinced that that declaration reflects an increasingly firm and widespread conviction among the States Members of the Organization. In spite of this, the climate of threats and verbal aggression has intensified and the centres of confrontation have mutiplied. While many are working sincerely for peace, it would seem that some are attempting to achieve it through war.

16. During the past weeks there have been military and political events that underline the danger of growing interference in the internal affairs of the Central American States, Nicaragua in particular. If this trend persists, irreparable damage would be done to the Organization through the violation of the cardinal principle on which it is based: respect for the sovereignty of States.

17. The President of Mexico, Miguel de la Madrid, recently issued a harsh warning in this connection. He stated:

> "The international stage is not a preserve for unilateral action nor should it be a testing-ground for a few. It is incumbent on the society of States, as a whole, to take decisive steps to deal with the crises of our times."

He also reiterated that Mexico will continue to work to ensure that our Central American brothers find, in the principle of the self-determination of peoples, the best guarantee of their right to live in peace and to seek their own road to democracy and development.

18. Given the seriousness of the situation which prompted the present debate in the Security Council, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, Panama, Venezuela and Mexico held a consultative meeting which ended early this morning in Panama City. After having thoroughly studied the events, they reiterated their intention to continue their diplomatic quest for a solution to the disputes in the region by promoting dialogue, understanding and the establishment of political machinery for guaranteeing the full attainment of their objectives.

19. In that connection and pursuant to a request made by the Government of Costa Rica, they decided to send a mission of observers to the frontier zone of that country with Nicaragua, composed of representatives of each of the countries of the group. It will be responsible for identifying the facts, evaluating the circumstances and presenting whatever recommendations are deemed appropriate.

20. The Foreign Ministers of the four countries "note with deep concern the development of the Central American conflict over the past few days and the repeated violation of essential principles of the international legal order". They recognized that "these circumstances have given rise to various initiatives aimed at seeking the intervention of multilateral organizations". The Foreign Ministers stated that:

> "It would be highly desirable that in the deliberations taking place in the aforementioned forums, and especially those currently under way in the Security Council, there should be a strengthening of principles which should guide the activities of States in the international arena.
>
> "These principles include: self-determination and non-interference in the affairs of other States, respect for the territorial integrity of other States, the obligation not to allow the territory of a State to be used for committing acts of aggression against other States, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the prohibition of the threat or use of force to resolve conflicts." [*See S/15762, annex.*]

21. A State Member of the Organization has brought to the Council's attention a situation which from every standpoint endangers the maintenance of international peace and security. It has done so in full exercise of its right under Article 35 of the Charter. The Council is duty bound to offer a rapid and effective response to the problem brought before it. It must contribute resolutely to the negotiated settlement of the present conflict, as the conscience of the world requires.

22. The Government of Mexico believes that the draft resolution drawn up by developing countries, non-permanent members of the Security Council, contains the essential elements for furthering a peaceful solution of the disputes in the region. It affirms the primary competence of this body in the maintenance of collective security; it emphasizes fundamental principles which are at stake, and it affords the countries committed to the Contadora effort additional support to continue their work. Furthermore, it requests the Secretary-General, in accordance with the authority conferred on him by the Charter and the willingness that he himself has expressed, to use his good offices in co-ordination with the Contadora Group with a view to achieving the solution to problems which affect peace in Central America. That could be done in the way considered appropriate to the circumstances by the Secretary-General.

23. The efforts being made by countries and groups of countries in fulfilment of their responsibilities as Member States to help find a peaceful solution to international disputes should in any event be resolutely supported by the United Nations and should be related to the actions taken by its competent bodies.

24. We thank the international community represented here for its support of the peace-making efforts of our countries, and we trust that all States, within the region and outside it, will listen to and heed the appeal made to them to refrain from any acts that may render difficult the efforts of the Contadora Group and aggravate the situation.

25. We hope that this draft resolution will command the unanimous approval of the Council. That would constitute an unequivocal and highly significant political act which would initiate the process of détente and the restoration of peace in Central America.

26. Mr. MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe): Mr. President, allow me first of all to join those who have already welcomed you to New York and wished you well in your new post as your great country's representative to the United Nations. As members of the Organization of African Unity and of the movement of non-aligned countries, and also as developing countries and militarily small nations, Zimbabwe and Zaire have many common interests. It is my most sincere hope, therefore, that our two missions here in New York will continue to co-operate in promoting and protecting those interests and in working for international peace and security. My second pleasant duty is to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. As you must surely have already realized, this is a very exacting position, and May is promising to be a very hectic month. However, your own vast past experience as a minister in your country's Government gives us justifiable confidence that the Council, charged with primary responsibility for international peace and security, will be in good hands during the month. For our part we of the delegation of Zimbabwe would like to assure you of our full co-operation with you in your work.

27. I also wish to pay my delegation's tribute to Mrs. Kirkpatrick, representative of the United States, for a very productive presidency of the Council during April.

28. Turning now to the subject of this meeting, my delegation observes with deep regret and concern that once again within six weeks the Republic of Nicaragua has been compelled to request an urgent meeting of the Security Council on the delicate and rapidly deteriorating situation within and around its borders. Unless immediately checked, the buildup of tensions on the Nicaraguan-Honduran and Nicaraguan-Costa Rican frontiers will soon lead to open military conflicts in the area. The Security Council, the only body which the international community has charged with primary responsibility for international peace and security, must be gravely concerned about a conflagration which will inevitably follow such an outbreak of military conflict, as the consequences of such a conflagration for regional stability and international peace and security will be incalculable.

29. We note with encouragement, however, that, concerned about the grave dangers threatening peace and stability in the area, some of the Governments in the region have already taken initiatives aimed at preventing any further escalation of the situation. We are referring

here to the initiative of the Governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—the Contadora initiative—the long-term objective of which is the ultimate normalization of relations among the affected States by peaceful means.

30. Our delegation is equally encouraged by the repeatedly declared commitment to a negotiated solution by the Government of National Reconstruction of Nicaragua, which was also reaffirmed by its Minister for External Relations, Mr. Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann, in his statement to the Council on 9 May [*2431st meeting*] and again in a letter of 2 May addressed to the United States Secretary of State, Mr. George Shultz [*S/15742*].

31. It is the view of the Government of the Republic of Zimbabwe that the Council must insist on and exert maximum efforts towards negotiated and peaceful solutions to the problems which are afflicting Central America. There is no viable alternative policy to this, and there can be none. My Government would like to see United Nations efforts for peace in the region exercised through the Security Council and through the personal involvement of the Secretary-General. We believe that the first positive step in this direction is for the Council to adopt a resolution which, among other things, gives the Secretary-General authority to initiate without delay good-offices efforts, preferably in co-ordination with the Contadora Group.

32. In addition, the Council should warn all concerned, and especially States outside Central America, to refrain from any interference or intervention which is likely to lead to the aggravation of the situation and which might frustrate the peace efforts of the Secretary-General and the Contadora Group.

33. Finally, as we are fully convinced that no settlement can bring real and lasting peace unless it has the complete respect and support of the parties directly involved, it is our hope that at an appropriate stage Nicaragua and Honduras will have an opportunity for a serious dialogue, possibly with the assistance of the Secretary-General and/or the Contadora Group. We also feel that such a settlement, resulting from direct talks between the two, would be greatly enhanced by a similar dialogue between Nicaragua and the United States. To achieve their objectives, the dialogues which are being recommended here must be undertaken in a spirit of seriousness and candidness, and among equal sovereign States.

34. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Seychelles. I invite her to take a place at the Council table and to make her statement.

35. Ms. GONTHIER (Seychelles): Mr. President, as you have been a foreign minister and have served both your country and Africa well, we are confident that your expertise will guide us during this troubled time.

36. The Republic of Seychelles continues to support Nicaragua's right to independence and urges all States to abandon policies of intervention and destabilization and to seek political solutions through diplomatic channels to settle whatever differences that might exist between them and Nicaragua.

37. In Seychellois society, the family is in reality a community in which its members co-operate closely. It is not a relationship based on the dominant—one might say domineering—authority of a single member. The political or idealogical direction of the family is not exercised by one member alone, in the position as head of the family. Each member has the right to participate in all important procedures. But none of the family members has the right to interfere in the normal relations between others, especially distant relatives. The present foreign interference from Honduras, upsetting normal relations within the Central American community, exposes this family member to reprisals and a possible major military confrontation.

38. By the use of Honduras as a base for a destabilization programme against Nicaragua, current hostilities in Nicaragua may expand into a war between the two countries. This is not the normal course of action taken by family members when trying to settle their differences. But then Nicaragua is not looked upon as a member of a family by some foreign interests. It is considered to be more of an orphan needing the supervision of a headmaster or a headmistress.

39. As a result of the current infiltration of counter-revolutionary forces in Nicaragua, the escalation of violence grows worse day by day. This relentless policy of covert action risks spreading the fire that blazes in Central America to other nations and continents. It disheartens all those attached to peace and who respect the dignity of people. Under the Somoza régime, the Nicaraguan people endured their calvary with courage and pride, and each new ordeal they now suffer only makes them still more determined in their endless combat to survive.

40. The will of a people must never be underestimated, as it has been in the past. The re-establishment of peace in the Central American community will not come through inhuman intensification of suffering and mourning for the dead, but through negotiation with the true representatives of the Nicaraguan people, the Sandinist Government. Distant regional relatives must be convinced that intervention is a frightful, frightening mistake, which no victory can end. How many more casualties are needed for these truths to be recognized and accepted as the basis of the necessary and urgent negotiations?

41. While foreign military involvement in Nicaragua continues to be well documented by the international and the American press, the reason for its involvement is not. We can only conclude that the true objective of such involvement is the overthrow of the present Government in Nicaragua. Let us remember that the international community outlawed intervention as an instrument of foreign policy of States. In this connection, references

must be made to General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV) of 1970 containing the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

42. My delegation would like, in closing, to reaffirm the concern of the Republic of Seychelles about the worsening situation in and relating to Nicaragua. The loss of Nicaraguan lives is due to the thinking that Nicaragua does not have the right to independence and territorial integrity. It is the hope of the Republic of Seychelles that through negotiation and dialogue—as good members of a family settle their disagreements—this thinking will be reversed.

43. In this respect we support the Contadora initiative which favours peace in Central America. We plead with the Secretary-General to use all the influence that he has in order to ensure that the Contadora plan is implemented and that some positive results are achieved.

44. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Algeria. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

45. Mr. SAHNOUN (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Permit me first of all to convey to you, Sir, my sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. The important responsibilities you have assumed in your own country and your vast experience in international affairs, with which we are all familiar, will unquestionably be of benefit to the work of the Council this month. I wish also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick, for the distinguished work she accomplished last month.

46. The Algerian delegation is speaking once more on this item to express, with a feeling of growing concern, its anxiety at the ever more dangerous development of the tension and armed confrontation in Nicaragua, in particular on that country's borders with Honduras.

47. Our duty as regards international peace and security and our anxiety about anything that threatens them, as well as our solidarity with a friendly country, make it incumbent upon us, in this consideration of a complaint which was made to the Security Council a year ago now, to associate ourselves with all those who hope that in the final analysis the worst will be avoided and the peoples of the region will be spared misfortune and disaster.

48. I wish to pay a tribute to the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, who, at the conclusion of his statement in this debate [*2431st meeting*], pointed the way, through reasonable dialogue and with the appropriate partners, to a peaceful settlement of the conflicts which involve the countries of the region and other, more distant countries. In that statement, he said:

> "We have not come here to engage in recriminations or to seek compensation for damage. We do not know how one could bring back to life all our Nicaraguan brothers and sisters who have fallen victim to the murderous bullets of Somozists who are spreading terror in our homeland and who at this very moment are killing our heroic border guards, peasants, students, technicians and doctors—Nicaraguans and foreigners alike—as well as members of our glorious Sandinist People's Army, the reservists and militiamen.
>
> "We have come before the Council to respond to aggression and death with an invitation to frank and constructive dialogue. We abhor war; we cherish peace. What is the response of my Security Council colleagues?" [*Ibid., paras. 45 and 46.*]

49. My delegation believes that the important contribution of Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann contains serious, positive elements which could bring an end to the present process of violence and confrontation, the continuance of which serves the interests of no country in the region. This reasonable and sensible effort on the part of Nicaragua, at the very time it is the victim of a flagrant act of aggression and of scarcely camouflaged intervention in its internal affairs, should find a response in the Council so that the guidelines may be established for a restoration of peace throughout the region.

50. From this standpoint, Algeria notes with satisfaction the efforts undertaken by the countries of the region, which have just been described by the representative of Mexico. In particular, Algeria supports the efforts of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela to sketch the outlines of a lasting, comprehensive settlement of the crisis affecting the Central American region. The meetings which have taken place among those four countries in the last few months, and even more recently, constitute a highly responsible initiative and offer the promise of a peaceful outcome. Our duty is to encourage this initiative and any proposal which might preserve the chance of achieving a secure and lasting peace. We hope that the efforts of this group, the Contadora Group, will be successful and that they will be supported and continued through action by the United Nations itself.

51. The convergence of the wills of the countries of the region and of the international community, through appropriate and necessary action by the Secretary-General, should make it possible to overcome the present crisis and to avoid a tragic extension of the conflict.

52. Algeria, in stressing before the Council today its concerns and its hopes, has acted in strict conformity with the positions taken by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, both in the final communiqué issued by the Foreign Ministers of its Co-ordinating Bureau at their Extraordinary Meeting at Managua in January this year [*see S/15628, annex*] and in the documents adopted at the Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at New Delhi in March [*S/15675, annex*].

53. For our part, we should like to repeat our fervent hope that we may see the beginning of a true dialogue

between the States concerned. There is no other way to put an end to the present escalation of aggression, the uncontrolled process of interventionism and the increasingly bitter declarations of hostility.

54. The Council owes to Nicaragua's remarkable co-operativeness this valuable opportunity once again to put to work the resources of multilateral diplomacy for preventive purposes. In the face of the unforeseeable consequences entailed by the dangerous development of the situation, the Security Council cannot but use the full weight of its authority to bring about the restoration of peace and a peaceful settlement of disputes. In this task, it is the individual and collective responsibility of members of the Council to be guided solely and exclusively by the need to safeguard international peace and security. We trust that this will be the case.

55. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Grenada. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

56. Mr. TAYLOR (Grenada): Sir, at the outset I wish to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of May. I also wish to take this opportunity to thank Council members, through you, for inviting me to make this presentation.

57. These Council meetings have been convened at the request of the Government of Nicaragua in an effort to promote peace and good will between itself and its immediate neighbours. This is another attempt by the Nicaraguan Government, consistent with its stated policy and its unimpeachable practice of encouraging dialogue and negotiation in order to reduce tensions in the Central American region, to avert a conflagration that would consume the entire region and would undoubtedly have ramifications far beyond the frontiers of Central America. The aforementioned facts must inform our deliberations, because they define the parameters of this session and underline its significance.

58. Today Nicaragua is calling on us to act in accordance with our innumerable resolutions and declarations in favour of international peace and co-operation and respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and the inalienable rights of all peoples to self-determination. In truth, Nicaragua is calling upon us to invoke the relevant sections of the Charter of the United Nations which enjoin all of us to act in favour of peace.

59. We are meeting here today against a very tense background. Numerous appeals for peace made by regional and extraregional Governments, including France, Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Panama and even Nicaragua, have been arrogantly dismissed. We meet at a time when the threat or war between Nicaragua and Honduras looms ominously on the horizon, when the obstructionist policies and the bellicose rhetoric of a permanent member of the Security Council are fanning the flames of war in our region.

60. Just a few days ago the mercenaries operating with impunity on Honduran soil were accorded the status of "freedom fighters". Recently also the United States challenged the legitimacy of the people's Government of Nicaragua. I respectfully submit that any statement that questions the legitimacy of the Government of Nicaragua must put Orwellianism in the shade. How could a Government that embraces the racist Pretoria régime and that stands behind those who commit genocide in Namibia, Sabra and Shatila question the credentials of the sovereign Government of Nicaragua?

61. Three years ago a new crusade in the name of democracy was started. It seems as though it is the democracy that legitimizes mass murders; the democracy that makes its protagonists angels and the rest of humanity the disciples of Satan; it is the democracy of frontiersmanship, of policemanship, of backyardism and frontyardism. We do not claim to have made the definitive pronouncement on democracy. We do not arrogate to ourselves the right to certify what is and what is not democracy. However, we know that real democracy is sensitive to the needs and to the aspirations of peoples and that real democracy cannot be predicated on an imperial creed.

62. The people of Latin America are the proud inheritors and executors of the lofty ideals proclaimed by Bolívar, Martí, Sandino and Fedón. We are fed up with the policies that regard our soils, soils saturated with the blood of our martyrs, as someone's "game reserve", "strategic reserve", "commercial frontier", "backyard" or "frontier". We are realists. We know the United States; we pay homage to its great people; we understand its concerns; we respect its sovereignty; but we fail to comprehend its contempt for our Government and its historic opposition to any attempts made by our peoples to liberate themselves. It is painful when we consider the fact that the contempt and the implications hurled at us by successive United States Governments, including the Reagan Administration, are the same ones as those that were hurled at the American people some 200 years ago when they struggled and won the first successful anti-colonialist revolution in the hemisphere. Sometimes history is an important teacher.

63. Two hundred years ago American revolutionaries were scorned and hounded like beasts. For example, the Earl of Sandwich, speaking in March 1775 for a policy of forcible repression of the American revolution, declared:

> "Suppose the colonies do abound in men, what does that signify? They are raw, undisciplined, cowardly men. I wish instead of 40,000 of these brave fellows they could produce in the field 200,000; the more the better; the easier would be the conquest ... believe me, my Lords, the very sound of cannon would carry them off ... as fast as their feet would carry them."

64. Perhaps, too, it would be useful to look at how the American people protected their own glorious revolution

in the early days. Counter-revolutionaries who are today killing innocent Nicaraguans, having been trained and financed by the United States Government, were described by John Adams, a distinguished American, as: "the most despicable animals in creation; spiders, toads, snakes are their only proper emblem". The American revolution developed mechanisms to protect its revolutionary gains, as all revolutions must, and those mechanisms were the Councils of Safety. In March 1777, the New Jersey Council of Safety was empowered to gaol all counter-revolutionaries. In Morristown in July of the same year, Council members arrested 48 counter-revolutionaries in a single day.

65. For those reasons we fail to understand why United States Governments have attacked and continue to attack Governments that have attempted or are attempting to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked and to give land to the landless tillers. Instead of the co-operation and good will that these Governments deserve, United States Governments have overthrown them or subjected them to tactics of destabilization. How can the United States reconcile its professions with its practices?

66. Arbenz was overthrown when he tried to release his country from the treadmill of grinding poverty; Allende was brutally murdered and his Government was brought down, only because he was trying to give his people some of the bread that their own hands created. Nicaragua, Cuba and Grenada are singled out for punishment because they are attempting to emerge from the cultures of brutality and oppression created by the bloody dictatorships of Somoza, Batista and Gairy.

67. Why is the United States Government defying the will of our people? How democratic is it if it scorns the will of our people? Indeed it was a former Secretary of State of the United States who, in reference to Allende's Chile, said that the United States could not countenance socialism in Chile if the Chilean people were so irresponsible as to elect Salvador Allende. Whose will should be respected? That of the oligarchies or the tiny cliques that extort taxes from the poor? The transnationals that make men beasts of burden? Is free enterprise the freedom of small cliques to exploit the majority? On the totem pole of democracy does free enterprise come before free men?

68. Today we call for justice, because injustice is suffocating the poor peoples of our region. We demand peace, because war is debilitating our peoples. We call for understanding, because the lack of it is perpetuating our wretchedness. In order to build new and just societies, thereby fulfilling the dreams of Bolívar, Martí, Sandino and Fedón, we need peace, because peace is an indispensable prerequisite for development. Peace and development are inseparable.

69. In the name of my Government and on behalf of the people of my country, I wish to reaffirm Grenada's unstinting support for the constructive proposals put forward by the Contadora Group and also for those proposals outlined by the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua. We believe that the involvement of the Secretary-General in the ongoing discussions must have a positive effect, given his interests, his wisdom and his well-established qualities of leadership.

70. Finally, it is our view that failure to act now in consonance with the Charter of the United Nations would be tantamount to sentencing the people of Nicaragua and, indeed, all the peoples of our region that cherish justice and freedom to deprivation, destruction and death.

71. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Ethiopia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

72. Mr. IBRAHIM (Ethiopia): While some have chosen the irresponsible and destructive path of violence, Nicaragua has consistently and with an admirable sense of perseverance pursued the path of international legality. That it has come to the Council for the third time in the span of one year seeking redress for the unprovoked and wanton aggression to which its people continue to be subjected is further proof of its strong commitment to peace and legality. It is, furthermore, a manifestation of the trust which the people and the Government of Nicaragua still repose in the Council. Whether the Council will, despite its past failures, now rise to the challenge of that trust is yet to be seen, but it is our sincere hope that it will.

73. For our part we pay a tribute to the Government of Nicaragua for its perseverance in the search for a peaceful negotiated solution to the crisis its country is facing. In this connection we cannot but express our admiration to the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, whose clear and eloquent statement defined the nature and scope of the problem under discussion and underlined once again the gravity of the situation facing his nation. In that same statement [*2431st meeting*] he identified the major party—indeed, the very source of the problem—while at the same time indicating to the Council a peaceful course of action which is in accord with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

74. As we all recall, two representatives spoke after him—which indicated not merely their interest in the matter but perhaps their direct involvement in the conflict as well. One made a long statement which in both substance and tone, and even in its irrelevant and discourteous references to countries outside the Central American region, was almost identical to the statement the other had made to the Council on an earlier occasion. That they spoke the same language did not come as a surprise to us inasmuch as the countries of those two representatives are actually acting in unison to destabilize the Government of Nicaragua. What surprised us, however, was the cavalier manner in which they dismissed the concrete issues presented to the Council by Nicaragua's Minister.

75. One in fact refused to address himself to the item on the agenda and opted merely to make a statement in exercise of the right of reply, in which, unfortunately, the Government of Nicaragua was both lectured on the virtues of American democracy and invited to adopt it as its own. Moreover, both representatives not only refused to address themselves to the problem at hand but even went so far as to attempt to deny Nicaragua its sovereign right to resort to the Security Council for assistance, on the untenable ground that others in the region which face internal upheavals had not done so. The fact that Nicaragua is building up its armed forces was given special emphasis, as though disarmament was the natural and logical path to follow for a country faced with external aggression and internal subversion supported from without. Furthermore, we were informed that arms were being illegally shipped to El Salvador through Honduras, as if control of Honduran territory were the responsibility of the Government of Nicaragua. Moreover, both representatives, regrettably, chose to comment extensively on issues which properly fall within the domestic jurisdiction of Nicaragua and which, as a result, had no direct relevance to the Council's agenda.

76. Perhaps the only point in those statements that was relevant and worth pondering was what one of them had to say regarding bilateral negotiations. In rejecting bilateral negotiations with Nicaragua, that representative—knowingly or unknowingly—gave the clear impression that his Government, which he likened to a piece on a chess-board, could not act independently to settle its differences with its immediate neighbour without the involvement of an external Power, which, again, he compared to a giant. If in fact that was the impression he intended the Council to have, it is indeed a sad reflection on the sovereignty and national independence of his country.

77. In the sometimes unreal world of diplomacy such evasions and, I must say, even deceptions may be an acceptable practice in extricating oneself from difficult and embarrassing situations. But let no one have the illusion that through evasion and deception the issues can be confused and those responsible exonerated. This will definitely not happen. What is unfortunate, however, is that in the process the opportunity to halt and reverse the deteriorating situation in the region could have been missed and the Council rendered impotent in the face of such blatant acts of aggression.

78. Despite all the obfuscations, the issue to which the Council must address itself could hardly be any clearer. A handful of countries which for very obvious reasons feel threatened by the long-term prospect of a successful revolution in Nicaragua have arrogated to themselves the right to choose the form of government the Nicaraguan people should have and the type of ideology they should follow. To this end, they have organized, financed and trained individuals who are opposed to the Sandinist revolution and have, indeed, launched them recently on an open invasion of Nicaraguan territory.

79. As the Minister for External Relations has clearly stated, these mercenaries are wreaking havoc on life and property within Nicaragua. The responsibility for these acts of aggression and subversion lies squarely on the Governments which have masterminded these military operations as well as on those which have allowed their territories to be used as staging grounds and rear bases for the armed incursions. Those responsible are, of course, known to the whole world, but what the world does not know, and would surely like to know, is under what norm or rule of international law or what moral principle these Governments have undertaken such a large-scale operation of interference and intervention.

80. If the reason of power rather than the power of reason and legality were to be given primacy in the conduct of international relations, the world would undoubtedly be plunged into chaos and anarchy. Reason and legality, we are convinced, are on the side of Nicaragua. All acts of intervention and aggression against Nicaragua must, therefore, cease immediately and unconditionally. All avenues which might lead to a peaceful resolution of the problem should be explored and exhausted. By acting with courage and decisiveness in seeking to achieve these objectives, the Council would not only save a small, weak and impoverished country from the claws of a big, powerful and rich one, but would also help put a stop to the creeping anarchy that is threatening the very fabric of international relations.

81. Finally, Sir, allow me to discharge the pleasant duty of congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency of this body and of extending to you the best wishes of the Ethiopian delegation for a successful and fruitful term of office. I should also like to thank the members of the Council for acceding readily to my delegation's request to address this body on the agenda item before it.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.

NOTE

[1] A/38/68, annex.

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